2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

(2) Radically distinct is the cult of the dead (aroe). Every aroe is tangibly represented in two ways: by its impersonator at the funeral ceremony, and by a flageolet with a gourd bearing the distinctive clan designs and preserved by the dead person's clansmen in memory of him. The aroe come to the village to eat, drink, or dance; foretell the future; cause illness; and otherwise intimately affect the daily life of the Indians. The aroe commune with the Indians through a medium, the aroettawarari, whom they possess or enlighten in dreams and who may summon them by a special ceremony.

The aroettawarari naturally may not perform the rite of offering food sacred to the bope, but his other duties are largely similar. On behalf of clients he may call the aroe who possess him, led by their spokesman. Treatment of the sick here, too, requires smoking, blowing, suction, and expectoration; and the doctor utters his prognosis. However, in these cases disease seems to be ascribed to the stench emitted by certain aroe. The call comes to the aroettawarari in a manner similar to that followed in the bari's initiation; only the beings that bless him are of a distinct category. Often in the shape of a tapir he allows himself to be pursued by the hunters and even to be killed. Then he resumes his normal form and eats of the slain tapir. Anciently, no woman could be a bari; the office of aroettawarari, however, was open to both sexes.

Notwithstanding the theoretical antithesis and actual animosity of the two types of practitioners, it happens that the same person holds both offices. Tonelli (1927) surmises that this may have originated in villages without a bari, hence deprived of the chance of eating some vital foods unless the power of consecrating them were transferred to the rival office. That the close parallels noted between the two types of medicine men go back to a single origin cannot be doubted.

MYTHOLOGY

The twin heroes, Bakororo and Itubori, figure as exemplars and transformers; Bakororo plays the major part and is associated with a musical instrument used ceremonially. The myth resembles a common Brazilian tale: A jaguar who has conquered an Indian in wrestling permits him to depart in return for the loser's daughter, whom the victor marries. He warns her against his grandmother, a caterpillar, who makes the wife fall dead from laughter. Returning, he performs a Caesarean operation to extract the twins, who burn the old hag in order to avenge their mother. On learning that a falcon has eaten their mother, they kill it. Then Bakororo orders the species to abstain henceforth from human flesh, ordaining what shall be its food; and he similarly fixes the proper sustenance for hitherto man-eating storks, parrots, fish, and snakes. The souls of the dead go either to Bakororo in the extreme west, or to Itubori in the extreme east.

614 Bakororo, chief of the village of the dead situated on the
773 West, is the older brother of Itubore, who is chief of the
[769] village of the dead on the East. Then the Tugarege gave their prerogatives to the Echerae. Baitogogo gave all of his possessions to Bakorokudi; Boroge gave his to Akaruyo Bokodori.

614 This is not the only evidence that the Badajebage
796 Chebegiwuge should be considered as the older brothers and the Badajebage Chobugiwuge as the younger ones. Most of the ceremonial performances given to them divided them in the same way. The Ivagududoge gave tugo choreu or imedu (the black or male arrow) to the Badajebage Chebegiwuge, and tugo kujagureu or aredu (the red or female arrow) to the Badajebage
[825] Chobugiwuge. The Aroroe gave bakuguma choreu (the black falcon) to the Chebegiwuge, and the white falcon to the Chobugi-
[825] wuge. The Apiborege gave aroe echeba choreu (the black harpy eagle) to the Badajebage Chebegiwuge, aroe echeba tororeu (the white harpy eagle) to the Badajebage Chobugiwuge, and similarly they gave parabara eimejera (the chief of the wild tree-ducks) to the Chebegiwuge and parabara onaregedu (the young wild tree-duck) to the Chobugiwuge. There are several exceptions to this pattern, but the Bororo again feel com-
614 pelled to explain them by some particular circumstances. We
621 paid more attention to these two clans because Bakorokudu
181 and Akaruoy Bokodori are entitled to give orders for different communal activities. Bakorokudu gives orders for ceremonies, songs, and the feast of the spirits. Akaruyo Bokodori

773 Tamigi eimejera and his paraphernalia:
616 imo toro (a ceremonial skirt)
571 imo irogodu (body painting)
292 Aije Bakororo (a bull-roarer called Bakororo)
302 Boe eimejera (chief of the village, i.e., Baitogogo
534 gave to Bakorokudu his position as chief)

Songs:

Aroe Enogwage Paru, Manno Paru, Aije Paru, Jure Paru, Roya Kurireu, Kiege Barege, Juredoge, Aroe Ereru.

While doing my research I could easily understand the exchange of ornaments and representations and the waiving of chiefly duties, but I had some difficulty understanding how Bakororo and Itubore could be given away. As the Bororo explained to me: at first Baitogogo was Bakororo and Boroge was Itubore, then they gave them away to Bakorokudu, who is now Bakororo, and to Akaruyo Bokodori, who is now Itubore. 769 Bakororo and Itubore are the chiefs of the villages of the dead. Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori not only impersonate these mythical beings in the ceremonies, but when they die they themselves will be Bakororo and Itubore. How was it 115 possible to give away part of one's own identity? I took my problem to my informant Capitão Enrique. He thought about it for a while, then he said:

> Look, you do not have a knife. I, I do have a knife. But I want to give it to you. So I give it to you. Therefore I do not have a knife anymore. Now you have a knife. Boroge was Itubore.

asexual world: there are no female Aroe, and consequently maleness is not an essential attribute of Aroe. Bope, in contrast, takes the shape of a big snake or that of a hairy man with bushy beard. He has a wife. There cannot be such a thing as asexual nature. In an effort to be less animal-like the Bororo carefully pluck all their body hair.

3. Named vs. unnamed

Echera Bororo was the first village with a name. The expression arigao bororo, the dogs' village, simply says that the dogs were there, but the village itself was nameless. Arigao bororo is a generic designation, not a proper name. Any Bororo village is called bororo or arigao bororo.

Naming is considered by the Bororo as one of the most important cultural acts. Only when named do things become part of the human universe.

Bororo myths and stories report numerous examples of naming, the act of which is always performed by cultural heroes. Baitogogo was the most important cultural hero and later became Bakororo, the chief of one of the villages of the dead. He not only dressed the Bororo and organized the society but also gave names to all the animals, fish, and plants. The first Aroe were Bokodori Echerae and a Tugarege man, Tadugo (Ivagududoge). The Bokodori Echerae made the first ornaments (necklaces) and gave them their names. Tadugo took his children, the legendary twins Bakororodoge, for a walk to teach them the names of things. The twins themselves killed different man-eating animals and gave

personated in ceremonies during his life. The exchange is total. He gets a new name, becomes an Aroe, and joins the other Aroe in Bakororo and Itubore. Dressed in colored feathers, the Aroe are beautiful and spend their time dancing and singing. It is a world without dangerous sex and without enemies, without foreign tribes and Brazilians; it is a cultural place. Man comes from nature and dies into culture.

But this is not the end. The Aroe, too, get hungry, and the living make meals for the spirits when they eat food in the name of Aroe. Aroe enter their representatives and eat. The dead are dependent on the living. And the living are dependent on the dead. Aroe come to the living in the forms of fish and animals to be caught. The exchange continues.

> Aroe come again and again to visit their mother, their father, their children, their poari, their bow and arrow. They transform themselves into nabure, kuido, kudoro [varieties of macaws] kurugugwa [a variety of hawk], aroe echeba [harpy eagle], and come again and again. They transform themselves into fish, into tubore [a variety of small fish]. The same fish, the same animals that we eat. Thus we are eating each other.

Culture and nature occupy the same space. Older and younger brothers, though opposed, are still one; mother and child never really become totally separated—separation is a continuous process. Fission and fusion are complementary

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1 "Aroeeture mato tuje, tuwo, tonaregedu tuguye poari, tudugo, tuwoiga bogai mato pugeje t t t je. Du wure nabure, kuido, kudoro, kurugugwa, aroe echeba udo pudumi, tugiyarigodu keje t t t je ji-je rugada tuyamedu tabo. Ere kare edo pudumi, are tubore edo pudumi. Duwu karo, barogo jire pagwagere oino. Kodire puire pagwagere oino."

in the game of life. The Bororo started as a mixture. Their father was a man, their mother was a doe.[1] They try to pluck all the hair they got from from their mother; they try to become more human, to become spirits, but it is a vain effort. The living and the dead, nature and culture can never be separated.

Or can they? At some time in the 1930's, if the story is correct, the Bororo became painfully aware that they were dying out. Not just a few individuals, but everybody, the entire society was coming to an end. They realized that they were all going to die and nobody would be left to feed them and to care for them when all of them had become Aroe. There was no way to cope with this problem; the final solution was not built into the structure. An outside intervention was needed to solve the problem. The last great Bororo chief from Kejari had a dream about a new and different place for Aroe: Uwororo puwaewu Aroe--the place where Aroe take care of Aroe. The umbilical cord with earth has been finally cut completely. In death the Bororo will become pure culture.

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[1] According to a myth, only one man remained alive after the Flood. He mated with a doe and started anew the Bororo society. To stress the fact that the mating occurred between a cultural being (male) and a natural being (female), the Bororo say that Bope transformed himself into a doe (Bope ure pobogo aredu pudumi).